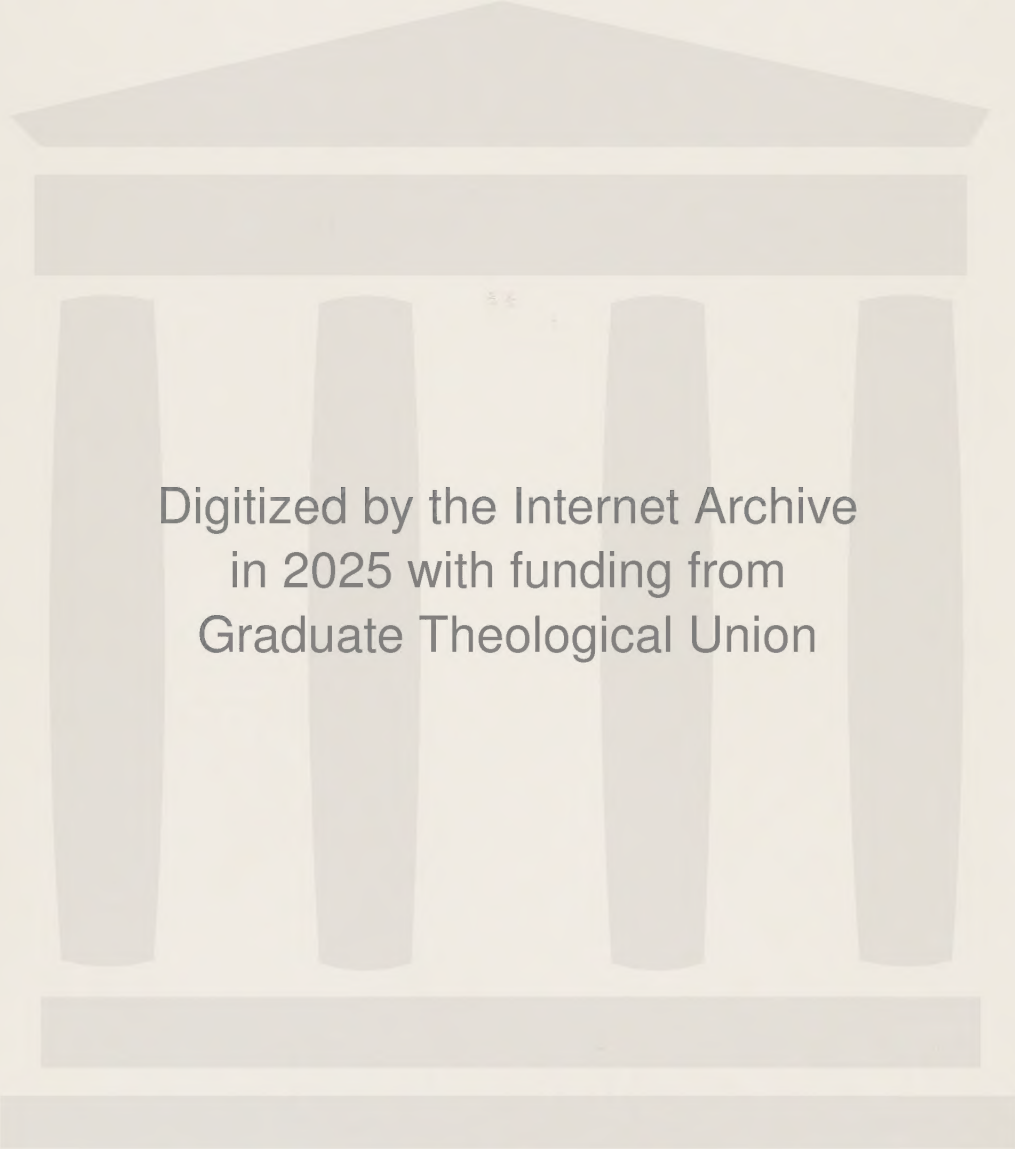




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PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

C O N T E N T S

FOR THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF DIVINITY

A Comparative Study of the Conception of God in
Isaiah Ben-Amoz and Second Isaiah

John Lambuth Cheek

An Historical Survey of the Attitude of the Church
Toward War

Lloyd Ashley Cox

The Christian Conception of God

Wilton Samuel Campbell

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CONCEPTION OF GOD
IN ISAIAH BEN-AMAZ AND SECOND ISAIAH

By

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I. DIVINE TITLES

The particular name one uses for the divinity may denote merely a debt to earlier historical development, or it may represent considerable progress in one's own thinking about God. In either case, but especially in the latter, it is quite likely to have a serious bearing upon one's whole conception of the divine nature. Both of these elements are prominent in the two Isaiahs.

By far the most common divine title in both groups of prophecies is the old Hebrew name for their own tribal deity, Yahweh . It appears some seventy times¹ in the more commonly accepted portions of Isaiah ben-Amoz, at least eighty-five times in chapters 40-55, and about seventy-five times in chapters 56-66. Of course the two prophets read into that term a progressively greater breadth and depth of meaning. Deutero-Isaiah's slightly more frequent usage would not seem to have any significance, unless it would represent a more frequent reference to God in the third person.

Another title common to both is Elohim , likewise a familiar Old Testament word. It is less than one-sixth as frequent as Yahweh in chapters 1-40. We should notice however that it is somewhat more than twice as frequent in Second Isaiah.

The "Holy One of Israel" is an expression found some thirty times in the Book of Isaiah, or approximately three times the number of the appearances in the rest of the Old

Testament. These latter include Jeremiah 50:29; 51:5; Ezekiel 39:7; Psalm 71:22, etc.; in other words the complete phrase is first used by First Isaiah. Hosea 11:9, however, makes God refer to himself as "the Holy One in the midst of thee", the two words being repeated in verse 12; and it may be that this is the origin of Isaiah's term. Interestingly enough, it is more common in Second Isaiah, appearing at least twelve times, as against seven. In two instances "Holy One" is in apposition to "Israel".

"Lord" or "Master" in the plural form, Adonai, is of course common in the book of Isaiah as elsewhere in the Old Testament.² Whether or not it was used by both prophets is a debatable question. Out of thirty instances in chapters 1-39, seventeen occur in rejected or doubtful passages. Of the remainder, it is interesting, though not especially illuminating, to notice that in three cases the title is connected with "Yahweh of Hosts", and in three others combined with the first term alone. The current opinion as to Second Isaiah leaves us only two out of fourteen instances, these, it so happens, being rejected by Torrey. In all but these two, the phrase is "Lord Yahweh". The singular form occurs three times in First Isaiah.

A phrase particularly characteristic of Isaiah ben-Amoz is "Yahweh of Hosts". Out of fifty-four occurrences in chapters 1-39 at least twenty-two are probably genuine. Tsaba is more common in ordinary human applications, but

the whole phrase is used often in Jeremiah, in the historical books, Psalms, and also in three later prophets. It first appears, however, in Amos, usually in the form "Yahweh, God of Hosts" (as in Hosea 12:5), and the idea of Yahweh's fierce power, held in readiness to punish Israel for her sins, is common to Amos and Isaiah ben-Amoz. Thus the phrase is not original with Isaiah. With Second Isaiah the usage changes quite definitely. Although the phrase appears three times (according to Torrey, six), it is twice synonymous with "Redeemer" (of Israel) and the third time it carries a similar meaning.

Turning now to the titles typical of Second Isaiah, we first come to "Creator" (Bore), in 40:28 and 43:15, used elsewhere only in Ecclesiastes 12:1, although the verb is fairly common. "Maker" (Oseh), a little less infrequent in the Old Testament, is used in Isaiah 51:17 and 54:5, in the latter case parallel to other figures and titles: "For thy Maker is thy husband; Yahweh of hosts is his name: and the Holy One of Israel is thy Redeemer; the God of the whole earth shall he be called." Whether or not with Cheyne we reject these passages, they are in keeping with the regularly accepted portions of Second Isaiah. Certainly in 45:9,11 Yahweh is presented as the "Maker" or the one who has "formed" (yatsar) Israel. This usage is found also in Habakkuk 2:18, in reference to the maker of idols. "Maker" in a more general sense is applied to Yahweh only, in First

Isaiah, in 17:7, a rejected passage.

Still more characteristic of Second Isaiah is the title "Redeemer"(Goal), generally with a modifying pronoun referring to Israel, used at least five times (thirteen according to Torrey). We find it also in Job 19:25; Psalm 19:14; 78:35; Proverbs 23:11; and Jeremiah 50:34, the only other Old Testament cases. The latter reads, "Their Redeemer is strong: Yahweh of hosts is his name: he will thoroughly plead their cause..." This term is lacking in First Isaiah. The verb forms (gaal, and the closely related verb, padah), as might be expected, are quite frequently used in the Old Testament, not only of the avenging of a murder or other crime, but also of the redemption of first-born, of a slave, of a field or house, and, chiefly in the Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes and certain Psalms, of the redemption of Israel from Egypt by the "outstretched arm" of Yahweh. In Psalm 107:2 we do find a reference to redemption of Yahweh's people in a sense approximating the idea in Second Isaiah, but the term is not made a divine title, and the Psalm is probably later, of course. It is apparently only in the later wisdom and poetic literature that we find the idea of redemption by Yahweh of an individual "soul". The thought of God as "Redeemer" is thus not original, but Second Isaiah's emphasis upon it as a divine title is unique, certainly up till the time of his writing.

Another term characteristically applied to God was "Saviour" (Moshia), implying, not the preserving of life, but the giving of safety and ease. We read in II Kings 13:5, for example, "And Yahweh gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians..." As with the other cases, the verb (yasha) is commonly used. The noun occurs only eight times outside of the latter half of Isaiah; of these the following apply the title to God: the psalm of II Samuel 22:3; Psalm 106:21; Jeremiah 14:8; Hosea 13:4. The latter reads like Second Isaiah (cf. especially 43:11; 45:21)³, "...thou shalt know no God but me, and besides me there is no saviour." Although the usually accepted passages include only four repetitions of the word, the usage of Deutero-Isaiah is much nearer that of a familiar name for God. Isaiah 49:26 (repeated in 60:16), though not accepted by Cheyne, is a further example, "...I, Yahweh, am thy Saviour, and thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob." The last phrase raises a further question. It is difficult to say whether "Mighty One", a rare expression, was used by either prophet, since these words in 1:24 are of doubtful standing in the eyes of some commentators.⁴ "God of Jacob" is not uncommon, especially in the Psalms, though it appears in Isaiah only in 41:21. Isaiah 2:3 might possibly be Isaianic, but the matter is extremely doubtful.

El is a common Old Testament name for God. Out of seven instances in Isaiah 5-31, however, only one occurs in an authentic passage, and that, 31:3, contains considerably

edited material. Second Isaiah uses the name at least ten times. There seems to be a tendency to use the word in reference to the imaginary gods of other people, or in a statement by Yahweh to the effect that there is no other god. In the passage in chapter 44 which Cheyne considered doubtful, the word four times applies to the fashioning of graven gods by image makers. The same usage is found with Eloah,⁵ which appears twice in Second Isaiah. In 44:8, Yahweh is a "Rock" (Tsur), in contrast to the gods of the other nations: "...Yea, there is no (other) Rock; I know not any." This figure of God as the support and defense of his people appears elsewhere in the Old Testament thirty-two times.⁶ Psalm 19:14 is a more familiar example, but with it may be compared Psalms 18:2,31,46, (cf. I Samuel 2:2; II Samuel 22:2 ff.) 31:2; 62:2,6; 89:27; 95:1; 94:22, etc. Habakkuk 1:12 addresses Yahweh, "thou, O Rock". The title is frequent in the psalm of Deuteronomy 32.⁷ The psalm of Isaiah 26:4, of uncertain date, uses the figure of "an everlasting rock" and 30:29 in a late passage refers to the "Rock of Israel". Isaiah 17:10 refers to God as "the rock of thy strength". Gray however is inclined to follow Marti here in thinking that "the lines are a glossator's attempt to assign the cause for Ephraim's fate".⁸ One reason given is the "late ring" of the verse, and the numerous parallels in Deuteronomy and later literature, especially in the Psalms. The title is quite common in later Judaism; and although dates are

uncertain, the usage was no doubt a familiar one in the time of Second Isaiah.

"Everlasting" is another term applied to God. Olam or "age-lasting" is used in later portions of chapters 1-39; especially, as a title, in 26:4 (see above). As a definite title it appears in Second Isaiah only in 40:28, "the everlasting God". Elsewhere the idea is rather implied. Ad, usually translated "forever" and bearing the sense of "continuity" is used less frequently, and is nowhere by the two Isaiahs ascribed directly to God.⁹

It is not surprising to discover that "King" is applied to Yahweh more often by Second Isaiah, since he wrote at a time when Israel no longer had a temporal king of their own. In 41:21 and 44:6 it is "King of Jacob" or of Israel. In 43:15, "I am Yahweh, your Holy One, the Creator of Israel, your King." Isaiah ben-Amoz used the title at the time of his vision **before the altar**, "... mine eyes have seen the King, Yahweh of hosts" (6:5).

Some of the most usual Hebrew names for God, then - above all Yahweh, but also Elohim, and perhaps Adonai - were likewise accepted by both prophets. Whether Adonai was common to both, or was chiefly limited to First Isaiah, depends, as we have seen, upon a solution of the textual problem. "The Holy One of Israel" and "Yahweh of Hosts" are most typical of First Isaiah, the former being unusual in Old Testament generally but taken up by Second Isaiah

to an even greater extent; and the latter, though not a new term, distinctive of First Isaiah as opposed to the usage of Second Isaiah. Second Isaiah was much more prolific in the use of titles, distinguishing himself by his use of "Creator", "Maker", "Redeemer", "Saviour", and, so far as the two Isaiahs are concerned, of El, "Rock", "Everlasting", and to some extent, "King".

So far as Hebrew literature remains to us, Isaiah ben-Amoz was original in the phrasing of the term, "Holy One of Israel"; and the frequent use of "Yahweh of Hosts" represented an innovation. With the same reservation we may say that Second Isaiah seems to have originated the titles, "Creator" and "Maker"¹⁰, and that he was distinctly original in the use he made of these and of "Redeemer" and "Saviour". This is a contribution which is new, but rooted in old ideas.

II. DIVINE QUALITIES AND ATTRIBUTES

It goes without saying that the concept of God is essentially personal. The Hebrew mind could not think of God as formless Being, or abstract Justice. The development between the two Isaiahs may in part be called philosophical, but it concerns chiefly the character of God as a person, the extent of his power and supremacy, and his moral demands.

1. Physical Characteristics

Throughout Isaiah, God is repeatedly pictured in anthropomorphic fashion. Yahweh speaks; "the mouth of Yahweh hath spoken it." (1:20) "In mine ears saith Yahweh of hosts.." (5:9) "...I will hide mine eyes from you." (1:15) Yahweh "arise" (2:19); "his hand is stretched out still" (5:25; 9:12,17,21; 10:4). "Yahweh standeth up...to judge the people". (3:13) "when ye come to see my face (appear before me), who hath required this...?" (1:12) "For Yahweh of hosts hath purposed, and who shall annul it? his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?" (14:27) "...Yahweh said unto me, I will be still, and I will behold in my dwelling place.." (18:4). "...so will Yahweh of hosts come down to fight upon (against) Mount Zion, and upon the hill thereof." (31:4)

The most definitely anthropomorphic passage however is the vision of chapter 6. "...I saw the Lord sitting upon

a throne... and his skirts (of his robes) filled the temple... mine eyes have seen the King.." (6:1,5).

It is difficult to know how literally we should understand these expressions. Most of them could no doubt be explained as figures of speech. Especially does this seem to be true of the repeated phrase referring to the "stretching out" of Yahweh's hand, and "appear before me", an expression dating back to earlier days and perhaps to earlier beliefs. Furthermore we must remember that we often apply physical descriptive terms to God which are entirely inconsistent with our philosophical beliefs about him. It seems impossible to make God's existence vivid and real without describing him in human terms, or at least using human analogies. Certainly Isaiah thinks of God as far more than an ordinary human being.

After all this has been taken into account, there still remain some definite elements of anthropomorphic belief.¹ I see no way to interpret otherwise chapter 6. This seems more probable if we consider it in the light of contemporary and later belief. Amos sees God standing "beside a wall" (7:7) and "beside the altar" (9:1) carrying on conversation and giving detailed instructions. Ezekiel, though in a passage of strange imagery, could describe Yahweh as seated upon a throne, "a likeness as the appearance of a man" (1:26), with a usual sort of "Thus saith the Lord" following directly in chapter 2. Whatever else we may say

of all this, there is seemingly no prejudice against picturing God in human fashion.

Further evidence against a too figurative interpretation is found in later attempts to remove the then objectionable features. As Gray points out,² the Septuagint translates "his skirts" as "his glory", John 12:41 following the Septuagint; the Targum renders it "the brilliance of his glory"; and the Vulgate, following Symmachus and Theodotion, "quae sub ipso erant". Ibn Ezra tried to explain "skirts" as draperies covering the throne, of course an unlikely rendering. It seems wiser, in the light of all this, that we be not too greatly concerned to make Isaiah's picture of God thoroughly and consistently transcendent.

Turning to Second Isaiah we find, at first sight, a similar conception. "Yahweh will come as a mighty one, and his arm will rule for him". (40:10; cf. 42:13) "The mouth of Yahweh hath spoken it". (40:5; rejected by Cheyne) He sitteth above the circle of the earth" (40:22) "...she hath received of Yshweh's hand" (40:2; cf. 41:20; 45:11,12; 43:13; 48:13,14,etc. He has "measured the waters in the hollow of his hand" (40:12) "I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness" (Torrey, "my true right hand"; 41:10). "Yahweh...will stir up his zeal like a man of war; he will cry, yea, he will shout aloud; he will do mightily against his enemies." (42:13) "...Now I will cry out" (14). There are anthropomorphic implications in the passage relating to

sacrifice (43:22-24). "Thou hast bought me no sweet cane, neither hast thou filled (margin, satiated) me with the fat of thy sacrifices". This cannot be pressed too far, as was true with the ritualistic expressions in First Isaiah; but at least the language as we have it is anthropomorphic.³

There is apparently no prejudice, then, against mild anthropomorphism. Such words as, "To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him?" (40:18; cf. 46:5,9,etc.) seem to, at first sight, have this attitude; but the words are connected with the making of idols, and the meaning is expressed more definitely in the parallel words of verse 25, "To whom, then, will ye liken me, as mine equal?" (Torrey's translation). This interpretation is strengthened by similar references elsewhere to Yahweh's incomparable greatness (especially 46:5).

Second Isaiah differs from ben-Amoz here in at least two or three respects. Most (though not all) of the anthropomorphisms are less direct, or appear in more definitely figurative or poetic settings. Instead of "I saw the Lord", or "Yahweh will fight upon mount Zion", we read, "he will stir up his zeal like a man of war".⁴ The statement, "the Lord Yahweh will come as a mighty one" is followed with "He will feed his flock like a shepherd" (40:11), certainly not intended to represent literal reality. In verse 7, (not in LXX) "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the breath of Yahweh bloweth upon it; surely the people is

grass", "breath" is doubtless a poetic way of referring to the wind, expressing God's power and direction of the natural events. Fewer parts of the body are mentioned specifically. Furthermore, and this is the chief reason for the above differences, God is more powerful and his domain much broader in Second than in First Isaiah.

2. The Divine Emotions

Yahweh is a god of wrath; but his wrath is not a fickle and purely arbitrary thing. Rather is it indignation against the unrighteousness and pride of his people. "...their tongue and their doings are against Yahweh, to provoke the eyes of his glory." (3:8) Like Amos, Isaiah foresaw a "Day of Yahweh" when judgment would come not merely on Israel's enemies, according to the popular expectations, but upon Israel and Judah themselves, because of their wickedness. To Yahweh, Israel can be "the people of my wrath". (10:6) In 2:11-17 and also, much more definitely, in 29:6⁵ this is pictured as some sort of cataclysm in which Yahweh guides the destructive forces of nature, and the pride and self-glory of men is emphasized rather than their wrong-doing in a strictly ethical sense. "There shall be a day of Yahweh of hosts upon all that is proud and haughty, and upon all that is lifted up" (2:12). Elsewhere the emphasis is directly upon the need for righteous action, upon which safety is conditional. This is most clear in such a passage as 1:20, "if

ye refuse and rebel ye shall be devoured with the sword." Often, as in 9:11f., the agent of destruction will be the enemy armies of Philistia, Syria, and of course, Assyria. The only direct reference to vengeance is in chapter 1, "I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies... and thoroughly purge away thy dross" (24,25). The wrath of God is not impersonal justice; it is still literally anger, but it is also inseparably connected with the moral demands of Yahweh.

Anger is an emotion still possible for God in the mind of Second Isaiah. There are, however, only four brief references (according to the traditional view of Second Isaiah), of which one is implied. "Therefore (because of Israel's sin) he poured upon him the fierceness of his anger, and the strength of battle" (42:25). In speaking of Babylon, Yahweh says (47:3), "I will take vengeance, and will spare no man." "I was wroth with my people, I profaned mine inheritance, and gave them into thy hand." (47:6) In this passage appears a figure similar to one of First Isaiah, "they shall be as stubble; the fire shall burn them." (v.14) Finally, anger is implied in 42:13f., "Yahweh..will stir up his zeal like a man of war;...he will cry, yea, he will shout aloud; he will do mightily against his enemies." This occurs in a section of praise for Yahweh's deliverance of his people. Two of these references are to God's previous punishment of Israel for her sins, the statements being, no doubt, a

matter of common acceptance. The other two refer to the deliverance of Israel from her enemies, not the punishment of Israel, which is a principal theme of First Isaiah. Elsewhere, when punishment is referred to, it is not connected with any idea of Yahweh's anger.

This contrast with Isaiah ben-Amoz is striking, and is further emphasized by frequent mention of Yahweh's love for his people, or his kindness and his compassion upon them—a theme generally lacking in First Isaiah except by implication.⁶ "Thou hast been precious in my sight, and honorable, and I have loved thee" (43:4). Yahweh's kindness is especially emphasized in 40:11, "Like a shepherd he will feed his flock, gathering them with his arm; the lambs he will carry in his bosom, those with young he will lead." (Torrey) And in 42:16, "I will make the blind to walk in a way they know not, in paths which they have not tried I will conduct them. The darkness before them I will turn to light, rough ways to the level ground." (Torrey) Another typical passage runs, "Fear not, for I am with thee; look not anxiously about, for I am thy God; I will strengthen thee and help thee, I will stay thee with my true right hand." (41:10, Torrey). Yahweh's redemption is a recurrent theme, as we have seen. If we include the Servant Passages as genuine in at least their main elements, then this side of Second Isaiah will be strengthened considerably. The servant, of whom Yahweh said, "I have put my spirit upon him", (42:1) above all

extended his self-sacrificing ministrations to Gentiles as well as Israelites.⁷

We must not forget the very different situations under which the two prophets gave their messages. Isaiah ben-Amoz lived when the matter of greatest urgency was that overconfident Israel should turn from the error of her ways, Deutero-Isaiah when encouragement was fully as needful. Doubtless if First Isaiah had lived under other conditions, the words of Yahweh (1:2,3), "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider", and other passages suggesting God's concern for his people, might have been expanded, and repeated more often. The above quotation had its source in a time of serious "depression". Nevertheless, as we have pointed out, there remains a considerable difference between the two writings.

Other direct ascriptions of human feelings to the divinity are not so numerous, but distinctly present. There are several in Isaiah 1:11-14. "Saith Yahweh: I have had enough of the burnt-offerings of rams,..and I delight not in the blood of bullocks... incense is an abomination unto me.. Your new moons and appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary of bearing them." A form of jealousy is ascribed to Yahweh in 2:10ff. He is impatient in 7:12. He will not "rejoice" in 9:17. Second Isaiah

carried similar conceptions, as in 42:24, (cf. 40:28, in different sense); 42:1 (if this belongs to Second Isaiah); etc. As Knudson says, the prophets "ascribe to the Deity human passions and motives with the utmost freedom".⁸

In this connection one concept which shows much more development should be discussed. First Isaiah represented God as saying, "I will be still, and I will behold in my dwelling-place, like clear heat in sunshine, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest". (18:4) Though in a fashion anthropopathic, this thought of God is a majestic one.⁹ There is nothing in Deutero-Isaiah which quite corresponds, except by implication.

The development between the two Isaiahs in this field lies not in the question of anthropopathism itself, but in the type of emotion most emphasized. In Isaiah ben-Amoz, God's righteous indignation is uppermost; for Deutero-Isaiah, the divine mercy is more prominent.

3. God's Holiness and Majesty

The conception of holiness held by Isaiah ben-Amoz is contained in chapter 6, and in his use of the title "Holy One of Israel" for God. In chapter 6 the traditional idea of holiness is strongly present. God's presence is awful and majestic, something to be dreaded:¹⁰ Yahweh was "set apart" from every profane person and thing, and contact with him, though desirable under certain conditions, was dangerous

for anyone not properly prepared. But the popular mind thought of holiness as a purely physical quality, transmissible by contact with any "holy" object or place. Isaiah read into this older view a new meaning. The quality of holiness made rigid moral, not merely ritual, demands upon its recipients. When Isaiah said, "Woe is me...because I am a man of unclean lips....: for mine eyes have seen the King," (6:5) his "uncleanness" meant a sense of inadequacy and unworthiness before Yahweh. When one of the guardians of the threshold- whose duty it was to keep the profane from Yahweh's presence¹¹- purged Isaiah's lips with a hot stone (or coal) from the altar, this was more than a ritual purification; it accompanied an inward cleansing; "thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin forgiven." (6:7) There followed a desire on the part of the prophet to serve his "unclean" countrymen, his message to them being one of righteousness. In a further respect Isaiah expanded the current idea of holiness. It was not definitely limited to a small (material) area, but "the whole earth is full of his glory." (6:3) Making due allowance for visionary language, there is yet an enlarged conception.

The connection between holiness and morality is made much stronger in the other portions of First Isaiah. It is worth noting that in each of the instances where the "Holy One" is used of God, the passage is devoted to the iniquitous behaviour of Israel, her disobedience to Yahweh, or,

in 31:1, her failure to trust in him. In other words, the moral nature of Yahweh is central. The same meaning is indicated for "profane" in 10:6, applied to Yahweh's people whom he is turning over to Assyria for punishment. We may speak of one more passage. The text of 8:12-14 is far from clear; but if these verses were once entirely separate from the preceding, verses 12 and 13 may originally have read, "Ye shall not call everything holy that this people call holy, and their fear ye shall not fear nor dread; Yahweh of hosts, him count ye holy, let him be your fear, and let him be your dread."¹² The interpretation of the two verses is probably not a matter of great importance to our views on Isaiah's theology at this point. The following verse, "And he (Yahweh) shall be for a sanctuary..." does raise more of a question, perhaps, but "sanctuary" is exceedingly doubtful, textually.

In Second Isaiah, as in the writings of Isaiah ben-Amoz, the title "Holy One" is bound up in the central theme of the book. For Deutero-Isaiah however this is not ethical righteousness, but rather the supreme power of Yahweh as creator and guide of the destinies of the whole world, and his ability to save his people. The title is more often used in connection with "Redeemer", but also with "Saviour", "Creator", "Maker", "King", etc. The passages in which it occurs deal with not only the power of Yahweh and his ability to save, but also his knowledge of the future, the fact that he is the only God, and his intended vengeance on Babylon.

As Peters says, His holiness shows itself "in His omnipotence as displayed in the redemption of Israel, and His wonderful love toward his people."¹³

There is one other verse in which the word for "holiness" is used. The meaning is not clear; for that matter we cannot be sure of the rendering, "Therefore I will profane (or, have profaned) the princes of the sanctuary (or, holy princes); and I will make (or, have made) Jacob a curse (devoted thing), and Israel a reviling." (48:28) Since the future rendering hardly follows well after, "I will not remember thy sins," of verse 25 (cf. the following verses also), it seems better to read in the past tense, with waw consecutive, by a slight change in pointing. Then there are further uncertainties. Wade renders "consecrated princes", but notes that the use of the verb with a land or place is much more common.¹⁴ Torrey changes it to, "I let my holy cities be profaned."¹⁵ At least, the idea that God can defile his own holy place or persons in meting out punishment is not a primitive one; but it was one demanded by the prophet's situation, and was nevertheless a largely external conception. Cheyne's translation, still another possibility, gives us practically no clue to the author's views on "holiness". Following the Septuagint he reads, "And thy princes profaned my sanctuary" (LXX, "holy things").

Clearly, there is in Second Isaiah no definite connection between holiness and righteousness. Holiness is an at-

tribute of God, but it is not the supreme attribute, as with First Isaiah, and it remains largely undefined except for the general meaning of the term, "set apart", and what we may discover otherwise as to the nature of Yahweh.

A closely related attribute in the mind of Isaiah ben-Amoz is "majesty", or "glory". Kabod (glory, honor, weight, heaviness), is used as in 6:3, "The whole earth is full of his glory." There is nothing original in the term itself, which is common in the Old Testament (though especially in Ezekiel and the Psalms); but Isaiah did the same thing to this idea as to the concept of holiness. He is thinking, not of the power of a capricious but august king or ruler, but of the glory and honor of a righteous magistrate. This is indicated particularly in 3:8f., "...Judah is fallen; because their tongue and their doings are against Yahweh, to provoke the eyes of his glory (Cheyne, "defy his glorious eyes")... Woe unto their soul! for they have done evil unto themselves... What mean ye that ye crush my people...? saith the Lord, Yahweh of hosts."

The prophet is not always consistent in this usage. "Hadar" (glory, honor, adornment), a similar word, appears several times in the arraignment of chapter 2 against "all that is lifted up" (verse 12). "Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, from before the terror of Yahweh, and the glory (Cheyne, "splendor") of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake mightily the earth." Here the emphasis is not so

much on the moral character of Yahweh as his pride. The haughtiness of men is on one side of the picture, but on the other is the disinclination of Yahweh to share his glory with man or man's works.¹⁶

In Second Isaiah, glory belongs to Yahweh alone. "My glory (kabod) will I not give unto another" (42:8; 48:11). The idea of majesty and splendor belongs here, also. But glory may be ascribed to God by men, in the sense of bestowing praise upon him. 42:12, "Let them give glory unto Yahweh.." is perhaps an interpolation (so Cheyne and others), but the same idea is expressed elsewhere. In 42:8 "praise" is made parallel with "glory", when Yahweh insists that the praise given to "graven images" in reality belongs to him. The quality of "glory", as that of "holiness", is expressed not so much in moral character as in splendid achievement. "Everyone who is called by my name, whom for my glory I created.." (43:7, Torrey). The principal accomplishment, however, is to be the redemption of Israel; this is the motive behind the words of the prophet, to inspire confidence in God's ability to do this work. "For mine own sake will I do it; for..my glory will I not give unto another." (48:11) This theme is expressed more grandly in 44:23, "...break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein: for Yahweh hath redeemed Jacob, and will glorify himself in Israel." The word here is paar, carrying the thought of beautifying oneself. A visible

glory is promised in 40:5, "the glory of Yahweh will be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together". If this verse is genuine, the author most likely thought of the prededing marvelous works as expressing God's glory, rather than a more direct physical manifestation; but these lines are rejected on metric grounds by some, chiefly Duhm and Cheyne.¹⁷

4. God's Power

The power of Yahweh is exhibited premarily in his ability to punish wayward Israel. Such an oft repeated theme needs no illustration. Yahweh controlled the natural elements, and might bring them to bear; "She shall be visited of Yahweh of hosts with thunder, and with earthquake, and great noise, with whirlwind and tempest, and the flame of a devouring fire" (evidently lightning), as in 29:4. He might gain the same ends by withholding the needed moisture for crops; "I will command the clouds that they rain no rain" (5:6; cf. 1:19) The yield will diminish to practically nothing (5:10,11). More frequent is the use of Israel's enemies as an instrument of punishment, even directing a laying waste and deportation, "Yahweh..removed men far away..." (6:12) In 5:25 the armies of distant nations are instantly obedient to his signal of summons. In 10:5ff., however, Assyria is not conscious of control by Yahweh, and oversteps her proper bounds. The instrument is generally Assyria; in 9:11,12 he will use Syria and Philistia against the North-

ern Kingdom.

Yahweh will also be able to fulfil his designs against the other nations. There is none so powerful as He. "Yahweh of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass... that I will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot. This is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth; and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations. For Yahweh of hosts hath purposed, and who shall annul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?" (14:24-27) "Ah, the uproar of many peoples... but he shall rebuke them, and they shall flee far off, and shall be chased as the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like the whirling dust before the storm. At eventide, behold, terror; and before the morning they are not. This is the portion of them that despoil us.." (17:12-14) Of Egypt and the proposed alliance, "when Yahweh shall stretch out his hand,... they all shall be consumed together." (31:3)

Yahweh has watched over his people, even though they have turned from him. He might choose the rulers (2:4) and cause strife among them, or cause them to be deceived (29:10; cf. 6:9,10).¹⁸ One might speak of him as the giver of children (8:18). "ords once spoken were commonly considered to have an existence of their own; apparently he could recall them, however, though he did not choose to do so. (31:2) He could fulfil any sign "in the depth, or in

the height above (7:11). Pace's statement that "Isaiah looks for the signs of God's omnipotence and purposive activity in human history rather than in nature"¹⁹ is in general true, though not entirely so (cf. chapter 2 in particular).

Deutero-Isaiah, as we should expect, greatly enlarges this conception of God's power. It is not that the God of Second Isaiah is more mighty against his opponents; rather is it as if one who has been looking at the heavens through naked eye has their extent magnified by the use of a telescope. God was, first of all, the Creator of the universe. Isaiah ben-Amoz would not have denied this; but closer contact with other religion and culture, in particular that of Babylonia, had brought with it a wider perspective. "I am Yahweh, that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the earth.." (44:24) "Yea, my hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spread out the heavens; when I call unto them, they stand up together." (48:13) The prophet even appropriates for Yahweh victory over the sea-monster Tiamat, originally credited to Marduk. (51:9f.) The world is a little thing in his hands; "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?" (40:12) As above indicated, this control over the world continues to be absolute. "Lift up your eyes to the

heavens, and see; who created these? He who brings out their host by number, calling each by his name; of all their mightiest, excelling in strength, not one is missing." (40:26, Torrey) In the ideal future shortly to appear, God will make even the wilderness to be moist and fertile, blossoming forth richly (41:17-20). The rough mountains and valleys he can make level (43:19; 40:4; etc.).²⁰ On the other hand, against his enemies he can "lay waste mountains and hills,... make the rivers islands" (42:15). In the olden days he led Israel through the Red Sea (43:16-18) and miraculously guided them through the wilderness (48:21). So now, "when thou passest..through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned.." (43:2).

The same power is manifest against the nations, which "are as a drop of the bucket, and are accounted as the small dust of the balance... All the nations are as nothing before him" (40:15,17). Kings and rulers receive their power through him (41:2), or they cannot stand against him (40:23). Yahweh is so great that all the beasts of Lebanon would not make an appropriate burnt-offering (40:16). Yahweh is the judge over the nations (41:1, etc.); and will bring judgment to bear against Babylon (47). Taking his cue from the earlier prophets who predicted judgment against Israel, he explains his people's tragic reverses as coming from the hand of Yahweh (42:23f.; 43:28), not, he insists, because of any strength of the nations or their gods, upon whom the judgment is now

to turn (47; 43:3; etc.)

Yahweh's power, then, is supreme; so much so that Second Isaiah can not even conceive of any evil powers (such as that of the Persian religion) opposing him (45:7). "I will work, and who can hinder it?" (43:13).

5. God's Wisdom and Knowledge

In First Isaiah we find no naive assumption that God must be told what his subjects are thinking or doing; on the other hand there is little emphasis upon his supreme knowledge, aside from obvious inference from his power. It is assumed, as in 7:3, that Yahweh has a full knowledge of human events. His knowledge is not only of the past and present, but also of the future, as indicated in chapter 7, 8:1-4, 20:4; and more especially of his purposes, as in 22:18, 22:11, 28:22, etc. If we include the Messianic passages such as 9:2-7 this will be further extended.²¹ We should notice, however, that this knowledge is based not on any mechanical conception of history, but upon Yahweh's good judgment as to the outcome of present conditions. Without going into theories of revelation, we may say that these instances cited reflect Isaiah's powers of observation and reasoning, and that Isaiah himself felt that anyone with good judgment should recognize these observations to be true ones. This is essentially the "wisdom" of 30:1ff.

Nevertheless Yahweh's wisdom is above that of men.

"The wisdom of their (Israel's) wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid." (29:14) Certainly it is above that of present Israel; "Whom will he teach knowledge? and whom will he make to understand the message?..." (28:9ff.) Only the foolish think they can hide their thoughts or actions from Yahweh, saying, "Who seeth us? and who knoweth us?" (29:15).

This conception of God's knowledge is magnified and expanded almost to the extreme in Deutero-Isaiah. Not only is God's knowledge universal, ("Why sayest thou,..my way is hid from Yahweh?" 40:27) but it is not to be compared to any human powers of understanding. It was derived from none but himself; "Who hath directed the Spirit of Yahweh, or being his counsellor hath taught him? With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him...and showed to him the way of understanding? (40:13,14) More than that, God's ways are past the comprehension of men. "There is no searching of his understanding." (40:28)

Repeatedly God asserts his knowledge of the future; "Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them." (42:9) This knowledge is a mark of power, possessed by Yahweh only. "Let them..declare unto us what shall happen; declare ye the former things, what they are, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or show us things to come. Declare ye the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods..Behold, ye

are of nothing" (41:22,23,24). The "nations" are given a similar challenge, in vain (43:2). Yahweh is the one "Who confounds the omens of babblers, and mocks at diviners; who turns back the wise in confusion, befooling their wisdom." (44:25, Torrey).

Isaiah goes so far in this doctrine as to imply a determinism. "I am God, and there is none like me; declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times things that are not yet done.." (45:9,10). According to our modern ways of thinking, this would certainly be the case. It hardly seems fair however to apply modern standards to Isaiah, who was not worried by such dilemmas as those of determinism and fatalism. His chief concern was to show God to be supreme and all-powerful; and if he was a "fatalist" it was only in the typical Oriental attitude that all things lie in the hands of God. One's trust could safely be placed in Him.

6. God's Oneness

There is no Isaianic problem on which there has been expressed a greater variety of opinions. Representative of the older and more dogmatic view is Skinner, "Isaiah is a monotheist in the strictest sense of the term."²¹ At the opposite extreme has been a gradual tendency to postpone to successively later periods the development of a clear monotheism. Knudson is one of the most recent to ascribe mono-

theism to the eighth-century prophets,²² but others such as Marti who made it their "most striking characteristic,"²³ Kittel who said their teachings specifically implied "unqualified monotheism and universalism" and "ethical monotheism,"²⁴ and Barton,²⁵ held not dissimilar views. H. P. Smith expressed doubt in this regard.²⁶ Others made Deuteronomy the first teacher of monotheism. Cheyne, in discussing the late features of Isaiah 37:16-20, said that "the conscious monotheism is certainly that of Deuteronomy and the Second Isaiah!"²⁷ But there has been a steadily growing tendency to consider Deutero-Isaiah, or at least Jeremiah, the first clear exponent of the doctrine.²⁸ It is important to recognize that a large part of these differences are a matter of definition. Marti recognized this partially when, in discussing the question as to whether monotheism began with Amos or Jeremiah, said, "Both views are right; they merely emphasize different sides of the question."²⁹ Knudson modified his position by saying that the earlier prophets were "practically monotheists,"³⁰ and the adjective "practical" had been added by Marti, Peters,³¹ Barton, and others. Still others limited it to "ethical monotheism". Pace, in speaking of Isaiah ben-Amoz, said his was "the same 'practical' or 'virtual' monotheism that we found in Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Deuteronomy."³² In other words, difficulties have arisen in the attempt to apply the full concept of monotheism to

Isaiah and his contemporaries. Gray is more cautious in his analysis when he says, "we cannot determine with certainty."

Varying arguments have been advanced in support of the monotheistic theory. It must be granted, first of all, that there is no assertion of the reality or power of other gods. It does seem strange that Isaiah does not mention the gods of Egypt in connection with 30:1f. and 31:1, esp. 3. But on the other hand it is still more strange that he fails to mention the Assyrian cult in the Temple under Ahaz.³³ Then there are such expressions as that of 6:3, "The whole earth is full of his glory." (Cf. 14:26)³⁴ But erets or "earth" is an ambiguous term in such a case as this, since it quite commonly meant "land" or "ground". (Cf. "your country", a translation of erets, in 1:7.) The Day of Yahweh "upon all that is lifted up" (2:13) mentions no bounds, though the specific places mentioned are all adjoining Palestine. A repeated phrase is, "Yahweh alone shall be exalted in that day." Yet such expressions in the Day of Yahweh poems may refer fully as well to the exaltation of Yahweh above other deities or powers in Palestine and the immediate vicinity; in fact more so, since no distant places are mentioned.³⁵ Yahweh considers Israel to be his people, but this is not incompatible with a belief in monotheism, as a comparison with Second Isaiah will show.

Of much more weight is the general assumption that Yahweh's power is supreme over other rulers and nations. As this

same assumption is found also, in only a little less extended form, in Amos and Hosea, it would appear that the question of monotheism stands or falls with the three together- as most critics have been inclined to agree (Cf. Marti and others, above). It would seem more accurate to limit rather carefully our definition of monotheism. So limited, the term "monolatry" would apply to Amos much better than monotheism, or even ethical monotheism. For details we may refer to the rather convincing argument of Badé;³⁶ but we may mention, for example, the idea that other countries were "unclean", presumably because they were under the jurisdiction of other gods rather than under that of Yahweh(7:17). In addition to the conclusion to which this and the other evidence points, we may certainly say that nowhere is the language sufficiently definite to preclude, necessarily, the existence of other gods. All this tends to show that the assumption of Yahweh's power is no sure indication of monotheism. It does imply, however, at least a strong tendency toward monotheism, whether or not a conscious one.

Another argument frequently set forth is based upon Isaiah's reference to idols. This has been weakened by the relegation of most of the references to a secondary place by textual criticism, but it is still a puzzling problem.³⁷ Elilim, translated "idols" in 2:8, has quite commonly been interpreted to mean "nothings" or "no-gods"(Cf. Marti, Skinner, Cheyne, Gray, and others), and therefore taken by many to imply the existence of Yahweh alone as deity. The word ordi-

narily meant something "worthless" or "good-for-nothing". Granting the reasonable possibility of the suggested implications, it yet seems hardly a sufficient ground upon which to base a claim for world-wide monotheism. To say that the land of Israel is full of worthless images, is not the same thing as saying that all the foreign gods are so classed, and the latter meaning can be taken only by reading it into the verse. As Gray, for example, suggests, the images may include some of Yahweh.³⁸ Isaiah doubtless thought of all other gods as "worthless" before Yahweh, but this does not necessarily imply that they had no existence whatever.

All of this neither proves nor disproves the question of Isaiah's monotheism. There are several reasons, however, why I should hesitate to hold Isaiah ben-Amoz to have been a thorough-going monotheist. In the first place, I find no positive indication that Yahweh is not limited to Palestine, as in the more primitive polytheistic belief, in much the same manner as a king is bound to the country over which he rules. Yahweh's activities against the nations is comparable to those of a mighty king against his enemies or his neighbors. And on the other hand, there is such a passage as 14:24,25, "Yahweh of hosts hath sworn, saying...I will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot," meaning evidently Palestine.³⁹ Yahweh offers Ahaz a sign, not in the length and breadth of the world, but "in the depth, or in the Height above" (7:11).

The center of God's activities, when expressed, is generally Zion. Conversely, there seems to be no point at which Yahweh considers the other nations to be his people, or holds any concern for them as such.⁴⁰

In the second place, to consider Isaiah a monotheist would be puzzling from the viewpoint of the development of Israelite religion. We have found good reason to believe that his contemporaries and immediate predecessors were not monotheistic. There is no clear and explicit statement of monotheism by his successors up until the close of the Exile, almost two hundred years later.⁴¹ To Deutero-Isaiah it seems to be a new conception.⁴² It would be strange if such an important teaching left little or no influence on the people, and especially on Deuteronomy, especially if set forth by one who expressed himself so convincingly, and left so many other influences on Hebrew religion.

In the third place, it would be still more strange if Isaiah, holding such a new and such a vital belief, and considering it to be a fundamental one, would not have given it such a place in his writings that those which have come down to us would contain a clear statement of the doctrine. This is still more strange in the face of contemporary beliefs, as the Assyrian cult of Ahaz. The prophet goes back again and again to the comparatively new theme of God's righteousness and his readiness to punish wickedness; he developed a new term to express God's holiness. Deutero-Isaiah,

apparently almost overwhelmed with the thought that Yahweh was the only god, could never tire of repeating it over in differing forms, trying to impress the significance of the great truth upon his readers.

It seems much more probable, then,- but we can speak only in terms of probabilities, to consider Isaiah ben-Amoz as still to some extent polytheistic. But this does not mean that his beliefs concerning God were confined to the older levels. One hardly needs argue the point that First Isaiah was at least growing quite definitely in the direction of full-fledged monotheism, particularly in his ascription of power to Yahweh, Yahweh's moral demands, and the expanding conception of holiness. Monotheism was "implicit";⁴³ Isaiah's teachings pointed definitely and surely toward it, but they had not yet burst the earlier limitations and attained a fully conscious belief in one universal God for all peoples.

One has no difficulty in determining Second Isaiah's views as to the oneness of God. The ascription of power and knowledge to Yahweh would almost be sufficient evidence in itself. "Have ye not known? have ye not heard? hath it not been told you from the beginning? have ye not understood from the foundations of the earth?...To whom then will ye liken me, that I should be equal to him? (he should be as mine equal) saith the Holy One." (40:21,24) One need only compare the works of Yahweh and those of the other "gods": "Declare the things that are to come hereafter, that we may

know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, ("do something!") that we may be dismayed, and behold it together. Behold, ye are of nothing, and your work is of nought." (41:23,24). The nations have no "witnesses" who can gainsay those who are followers and "witnesses" of Yahweh. "Ye are my witnesses...and my servant whom I have chosen; that ye may know and believe me, and understand that I am he: before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me. I, even I, am Yahweh, and besides me there is no saviour. I have declared, and I have saved, and I have showed; and there was no strange god among you: therefore ye are my witnesses, saith Yahweh, and I am God." (43:10-12)

These passages are interesting not only for their definite statement, but also for the illustration they furnish of the prophet's chief arguments and his method of "proof". He continues, in 44:5, after describing the future desire of other peoples to belong to Yahweh and partake of his blessings, "Thus saith Yahweh, the King of Israel...I am the first and I am the last; and besides me there is no God." (44, also 45:5,18,21, 46:9, 48:12, etc.) Like testimony is to be rendered to Israel by "the labor of Egypt, and the merchandise of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, men of stature" (45:14). Although it is not yet true, the time is coming when Israel's God will be the sole object of worship throughout the entire world. "By myself have I sworn, A true word has gone out of my mouth, a word that shall not be recalled,

that to me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear." (45:23)

The enthusiasm of the prophet raises what is, for us, a moral difficulty. He is indignant against what must certainly have been the Persian belief in the two "gods" of Light and Darkness, of Good and Evil.⁴⁴ To our Isaiah, God is supreme, and can brook no competitors, even though it be one in the form of a personal devil. If evil exists, or calamity (Cheyne) occurs, it must therefore be due to Yahweh himself. "...That they may know from rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me.. I am Yahweh, that doeth all these things." (45:6,7) Here again we cannot judge the prophet by modern standards. The chief consideration he had in mind was most likely "natural" evil; not the provision of temptation to wrong choices (cf. the story of Micaiah, I Kings 22:19-23, and Jeremiah 14:13-16, 23:9-32, 6:13-15), but destruction at the hands of nature or of human agencies. Considered thus, there is no vital difference, only one of degree, between the two Isaiahs. Isaiah ben-Amoz, in common with the others of his time, thought of Yahweh as visiting his people with calamity or sending fierce armies against them. To him these were God's methods of punishment. Second Isaiah, as we have seen, accepted the latter theory, but here of course is making a more general statement, of which the meaning is less clear. But for him, to ascribe evil to Yahweh was far less of a

problem than to admit that He did not have absolute control over the world.

To summarize briefly, both prophets apparently retained anthropomorphic conceptions, First Isaiah more definitely and extensively. To both prophets, in like manner, God was capable of wrath and similar emotions; but Second Isaiah emphasizes, in striking contrast, the kindness and mercy of the deity. Especially typical of First Isaiah is his conception of moral holiness and majesty, the former not carried over into Second Isaiah, but the latter used as a means of emphasizing God's "transcendent" qualities.⁴⁵ Isaiah represents Yahweh as supreme in power in regard to Israel and her enemies; Deutero-Isaiah thus has a similar conception except for the fact that the field of thought is broader. In the former the power is chiefly manifest against Israel, in the latter, against the other nations. A doctrine of God's knowledge, and in particular monotheism, are more especially typical of Second Isaiah; although Isaiah ben-Amoz is at a well advanced stage in both these ideas. Second Isaiah was so thorough in his application of these qualities to God that he went farther than would we of today.

A most striking development of Second Isaiah was his combination of emphases upon both God's splendor and power, tending to remove him from direct human contact, and His

sympathy and kindness, through which he bestows loving care upon his people.

III. THE RELATION OF GOD TO ISRAEL AND THE WORLD

1. Yahweh's Domain

In the discussion in the previous chapter it seemed probable that Isaiah ben-Amoz thought of Yahweh's domain as essentially Palestine. When Israel "appears before" Yahweh at his sanctuaries to offer sacrifice, these items and the general tone of the passage (1:10-16) suggest that all this takes place in Palestine, or, more specifically, in Judah; and in a preceding verse (8) the more definite reference is to Zion, "left as..a besieged city". The constant center of interest throughout the book, almost without exception, is Judah and Jerusalem or Israel. Yahweh "doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah stay and staff." (3:1) He enters "into judgment with the elders of his people" (3:14); He smites "with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion" (3:17); His vineyard is Jerusalem and Judah (5:3,7); He reveals Himself to Isaiah in His Jerusalem temple (chapter 6); and so on. True worship and righteous obedience are demanded of Yahweh's people (as in 1:19,20), but nowhere of the other nations.

There are further references to Jerusalem. 8:18 speaks of "Yahweh of hosts, who dwelleth in mount Zion."¹ In 14:32, "Yahweh hath founded Zion, and in her shall the afflicted of his people take refuge." He has laid in Zion a corner-stone of justice. (28:17) Jerusalem is "Ariel" (29:1f.), meaning

probably, as Cheyne suggests,² the city of the "altar-hearth" whereon is the fire.

A more "heavenly" dwelling place is suggested by two passages. In 31:4 we read, "Yahweh of hosts (will) come down to fight against (so Cheyne) mount Zion, and..the hill thereof," suggesting a higher dwelling place. And in Isaiah's vision, we hear, in verse 8, Yahweh questioning an invisible audience. This may have been composed of angelic beings of some sort, or, as Gray suggests³, the members of his court. The nearest Old Testament parallel seems to be I Kings 22:19, in the story of Ahab and Micaiah, "And Micaiah said... I saw Yahweh sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left." There is one more reference which gives no very definite picture, but may be quoted for its phraseology, "Yahweh said...I will be still, and I will behold in my dwelling place.." (18:4).

Second Isaiah quite definitely thinks of Yahweh as being active throughout his whole created "universe", in the heaven (firmament) above, and the earth beneath, even to the "corners thereof" (41:8), "giving breath" to the people upon it (42:5)⁴. Apparently Yahweh calls out the host of stars by night, "by number" and "by name" (40:26; cf. 48:13) This is a later Oriental cosmology than First Isaiah's, nearer also to that of the Priestly Code in Genesis 1. The only reference to God's "dwelling place" is in 40:22. "It is he that sitteth above the circle of the earth, and the inhabi-

tants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain ("veil", Torrey), and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in." The prophet appropriated the Babylonian dragon myth, of Tiamat (Rahab, 51:9), of course; how much else in addition to the above it is difficult to say.

Although in all this Yahweh's domain is much larger than Jerusalem or Palestine or the immediate heavenly vicinity, Second Isaiah's conception is at the same time limited by older and inconsistent ideas. Yahweh's central interest is still Israel, and her return to Palestine from the "ends of the earth" (though this is not true of the Servant passages). Aside from the creation, His deeds of the past, as enumerated, are principally concerned with the Hebrew race. In this the nations are still represented as His enemies. The whole significance of Yahweh's denunciation of Israel for not offering sacrifice (43:22ff.) is not clear, as has been indicated. Although the other peoples are not expected to sacrifice to Yahweh, yet if He here has expected Israel of the Exile to offer sacrifice, outside of their own land, then his domain is, truly, the world.⁵ Whether or not we can accept such an interpretation, Yahweh's rule is certainly not limited, in most respects, to Palestine.

2. The Relation Between God and Israel

Throughout First Isaiah, Yahweh is Israel's God, and Israel is also His people. They are his "children" whom He has "brought up" (1:2f.), but who are "rebellious" (30:1). Yahweh is accused of having forsaken "thy people, the house of Jacob" (2:6). He repeatedly calls Israel, "my people" (3:12,15, etc.)

Although Isaiah only once uses the title, Yahweh's relation to Israel is in many respects that of a king to his people, more so than that of a father to his children.⁶ One of His tasks is that of judging over the people, only here it is chiefly a matter of bringing them to judgment; He will "enter into judgment with the elders of his people, and the princes thereof" (2:14). If Israel would have reliable leadership and wise counsel, she may obtain it at the hand of Yahweh (chapter 7; 30:1,2; etc.). In this, of course, the function of king and advisor is combined. Yahweh is the only true source of help in time of war or other trouble. God seems to be placed in a relation similar to that of the king in the passage, "And they shall pass through it, sore distressed and hungry; and...they shall fret themselves, and curse by their king and by their God" (8:21). Here again, God does not need, as does the king, the armies to accomplish his salvation. When Yahweh has turned against them, says Isaiah ben-Amoz, "To whom will ye flee for help?" (10:3)

Further than this, Israel owes to her God other protection and help. He can give or withhold rain and the productiveness of the soil (5:6,10; see above).

In return for his sponsorship of his people, Yahweh asks from them certain things, in general, worship and devotion. The specific requirements differ in Isaiah from those commonly accepted by the people, as we shall see below.

For Deutero-Isaiah, God and Israel possessed a peculiar mutual relationship. But since the whole world is His domain, and all the people who dwell upon it are his, the relation to Israel must be expressed in a different way. Israel is not the whole of His people, but the nation with whom he has willed to have a peculiarly close relation, to whom he has revealed himself. "But thou, Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend, thou whom I have taken hold of from the ends of the earth..and said unto thee, Thou art my servant, I have chosen thee and not cast thee away; fear not, for I am with thee. I am thy God; I will strengthen thee, yea I will help thee... Behold, all they that are incensed against thee shall be put to shame and confounded; they that strive with thee shall be as nothing, and shall perish." (41:8; 11) "But now thus saith Yahweh that created thee, ^{...I have called thee} by my name, thou art mine."⁷ (43:1) "Thou hast been precious in my sight, and honorable, and I have loved thee." (43:4) The doctrine of the "chosen people" was the natural outgrowth of the attempt to thus

combine particularism and universalism.

The chief difference between the two Isaiahs, then, lies in the perspective. Essentially the relationship is much the same, except that it has outgrown the narrower bounds of the concept of a king and his people. Yahweh is still the guide and saviour of his nation, and expects loyalty and obedience in return; perhaps also, judging by 43:22ff., obedience to ritual requirements.

3. Yahweh and the Other Nations

There is no sure indication that Isaiah ben-Amoz ever thought of Yahweh as the God of the other nations. Over against the close connection with Israel, frequently referred to, is the fact that only rarely are other peoples allowed more than a passing or secondary interest; and then it is from the point of view of Judah and Judah's God. This background of the problem has already been discussed.⁸

Apparently Judah's attitude toward the people of other lands is ascribed to Yahweh. At least prophetic disclosures refer to them as "strangers" (1:7) and "foreigners" (2:6). Most often, as we have seen, they are to be classed as enemies, though Yahweh may accomplish his will with them, as an instrument of his purpose. When "he shall rebuke them, . . . they shall flee far off, and shall be chased as the chaff of the the mountains before the wind, and like the whirling dust before the storm." (17:13)

Except as they may be allies or enemies, there is, in no passage of which we may be sure, any concern for these foreign people. In fact, the house of Jacob is apostate because "they strike hands"⁹ with the children of foreigners." (2:6)¹⁰ Judging from the context, this refers either to the imitation of divination and other religious practices, due to such contacts, or to the evils of material prosperity resulting from trade relations, or both. The point is that such contacts between Israel and other races is undesirable in that it is corrupting the former. A not dissimilar idea is expressed in chapters 30 and 31, where Yahweh condemns the pro-Egyptian party for making political alliance with Egypt instead of relying on their God for aid.

If 2:2ff. is at all Isaianic, which is extremely doubtful,¹¹ this picture must be somewhat modified, much as the Servant Passages in Deutero-Isaiah, if genuine, mark the author of the rest to have been a man of broader and kindlier vision than some of the other passages would indicate. The Isaiah-Micah fragment looks forward to an ideal future when all peoples will come to the Zion sanctuary to worship and receive instruction from Yahweh, who will judge all and maintain an unprecedented era of peace. From the standpoint of both ideas and literary structure, however, it is quite unlikely that Isaiah either wrote or borrowed this.

Compared to Yahweh, according to Second Isaiah, "All the nations are as nothing before him; they are counted by him

as naught whatever"(40:17, Torrey). This is only an emphatic statement of Yahweh's greatness; but the reference to princes and judges in 40:23 seems to be a little more than this. There is concern for Israel but not her enemies in the words, "they that strive with thee shall be as nothing and shall perish." (40:11) "Egypt I give for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba in return for thee... I will give in thy stead far countries, peoples in exchange for thy life." (43:3,4 Torrey) This is a beautiful expression of God's love for his people Jacob, but not one of love for other races.

Of Cyrus, Yahweh says he is an unknowing instrument; "I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me." (45:4) Unless we accept Torrey's rendering of 48:14, or Cheyne's change of phrasing, Yahweh is declared to love Cyrus. In a burst of enthusiasm the prophet enjoins people from all over the world to join in universal praise of Yahweh (42:10f.; cf. 44:23). Israel is to be so blessed with prosperity and honor that others will want to be identified with Israel or Yahweh's people (44:5), though the cause and the motive are not as lofty as they might be. Both of these elements are also present in 45:14, which predicts that other nations will recognize Yahweh's supreme and sole divinity by his works in Israel. In the preceding verses Yahweh promises that the men of the earth, whom he has created, and raised up in righteousness", will build his city and set his exiles free. It would seem that the reason that the

nations do not worship Yahweh is that "they have no knowledge" (45:20, etc.) They must only "Look unto me, and be ye saved." (45:22) And "unto me every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear."

It has been more generally held that the Servant Passages cannot have been the original work of Second Isaiah, due largely to mutual inconsistencies between the two portions.¹² If we should follow the view that this material was either written or incorporated, and therefore approved, by Deutero-Isaiah himself, we must include in his conception the picture of Yahweh's servant as "a light to the Gentiles, that my salvation may be unto the end of the earth" (49:7), his characterization in the role of humble and uncomplaining suffering toward this end, and so on. It seems to me difficult to accept this view, though it is nevertheless a possibility that the prophet's ideas were filled with a broader sympathy and deeper understanding over a period of years, and that the present arrangement of passages is in confusion.¹³ Certainly we cannot entirely harmonize the two points of view. The larger portion of the collection of writings represents Yahweh as rightfully the God of all people, expecting future recognition; yet the lingering, narrow ideas of a "Chosen People" distort the picture and prevent the fuller application of the fundamental principle of a universal monotheism.

4. Yahweh's Ritual Demands

These, according to the older religious views, were all that God expected. We cannot be quite sure of the attitude of Isaiah ben-Amoz toward the cultus, but he expresses himself quite positively in most respects. Sacrifice is certainly not a necessary function. "What unto me is the multitude of your sacrifices? saith Yahweh: I have had enough of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats... Who hath required this at your hand, to trample my courts? (Yahweh had not!) Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; new moon and sabbath...my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary of bearing them." (1:10-14) Especially was all this of no avail in seeking favors from God; "And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood." (verse 15) Whether the "blood" is to be taken literally as that of sacrifice, or as a symbol of the sins which are then discussed, is not entirely clear; it would seem to be the latter. But apparently the whole ritualistic system is here repudiated. Also toward the end of his ministry, Isaiah spoke of the sacrificial feasts in realistic language: "the priest and the prophet reel with strong drink.. For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness, so that

there is no place clean." (28:7,8) Nearly forty years earlier his deep spiritual experience is in the temple, and he thinks of the altar as a hallowed place; but there is no mention of sacrifice or for that matter of other formal ritual.¹⁴

The prophet's main objection to the popular religion is admirably expressed in the words, "Forasmuch as this people draw nigh unto me, and with their mouth and their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear of me is a commandment of men which hath been taught them." (29:13) It is hard to say whether Isaiah would have objected to the cultus anyway, on other grounds, or whether he would have considered it allowable as a form of worship if it was the heart-felt expression of righteous worshippers. The first chapter does not give this impression.¹⁵ At any rate, he violently opposed the temple worship as it was then conducted.

There seems to be almost a Deuteronomic injunction against terebinth and local sanctuaries in 1:31.¹⁶ More definitely is the worship of idols and of other gods condemned in 2:8, and soothsayers, and similar "customs from the east" in 2:6.

Second Isaiah does seem, in one passage, to make light of sacrifice. Yahweh is so great that "Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt-offering." (40:16) The matter of chief concern here, though, is God's greatness. In another passage already con-

sidered, there appears to be an exhortation to sacrificial rites. "Thou hast not brought me of thy sheep for burnt-offerings, neither hast thou honored me with thy sacrifices. I have not burdened thee with offerings, nor wearied thee with frankincense. Thou hast bought me no sweet-cane with money, neither hast thou filled me with the fat of thy sacrifices;" (43:23,24) There is no direct accusation that these have been offered to other gods instead. And on the contrary, Yahweh adds, "thou hast burdened me with thy sins, thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities." The point seems to be that Israel has not duly honored Yahweh, in such a manner as that customarily adopted. Instead she has been wayward and unrighteous. It is not so much the way in which Yahweh is honored, as the fact that loyalty to Him should be expressed. If this be correct, then the sacrificial ritual, as such, was not particularly a problem in the mind of Deutero-Isaiah. This is essentially the conclusion, with considerable variation otherwise, of McFadyen,¹⁷ Cheyne, Skinner¹⁸, Box¹⁹, and I believe most modern commentators. Wade believes this may have been regarded as a "sin of omission".²⁰ Delitzsch, for example, did not seem to consider the passage sufficiently as a whole in emphasizing a distinction at the first between Yahweh and other gods.²¹ Torrey, as we have seen, (above, chapter II, note 3) makes the verses a condemnation of sacrifice as opposed to moral obedience; but this cannot be clearly held except under some such general theory which



locates the prophecy in Palestine. But after all, and in either case, a central emphasis is placed upon the "iniquities" of Israel, and the fact that, as Torrey expresses it, the people are "faithless, disobedient, and altogether unworthy".²² Torrey expands this attitude toward sacrifice until it practically corresponds to that of First Isaiah and his contemporaries.

The prophet is persistent in his protest against the worship conducted by the other nations, and especially their subservience to their gods, or "idols", the "work of their hands". Reference to Babylonian processional customs is made in 46:1f., and 45:20; "they have no knowledge that carry the wood of their graven image, and pray unto a god that cannot save."

5. The Moral Demands of Yahweh

As has been indicated, this is the fundamental command of God. If Israel would win God's favor, she must obey his injunction, "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes." (1:16) As with Amos and the other prophets of righteousness, this took concrete ethical form. "Seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." (1:17) The foundation stone which Yahweh laid in Jerusalem was "a tried stone"; "and I will make justice the line, and righteousness the plummet." (28:17) But Israel had not conformed to this

standard. Yahweh "looked for justice, but behold, oppression; for righteousness, but behold, a cry." (5:7) "Woe to them that draw iniquity with cords of falsehood and sin as it were with a cart rope...that call evil good, and good evil... that are wise in their own eyes... that are mighty to drink wine... that justify the wicked for a bribe, and take away the righteousness (note different sense) of the righteous from him!" (5:18-23) The poor were downtrodden; "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and to the writers that write perverseness; to turn aside the needy from justice, and to rob the poor of my people of their right, that widows may be their spoil, and that they may make the fatherless their prey." (10:1,2) The rich and powerful receive their just share of condemnation, "the spoil of the poor is in your houses: what mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the face of the poor? saith the Lord, Yahweh of hosts." (5:14,15)

The hypocritical performance of prescribed ritual, the outward subscription of loyalty are of no avail. Yahweh, who is a righteous God, demands that his people shall be a righteous people.

The same spirit does not prevail in Second Isaiah. The political and economic situation is doubtless different. At any rate the prophet is more concerned with other problems.

Morality is indeed a requirement. Israel has burdened

Yahweh with her sins (43:24); but now she has been sufficiently punished, and may expect divine pardon and forgiveness.

There is then comparatively little difference between the two Isaiah's in the definition of God's relation to Israel and the foreign peoples, except for the broader view of Second Isaiah, due to his own experience and that of his nation. The fundamental considerations are quite similar. In regard to Yahweh's domain there is a great expansion of the concept, although with some limitations remaining. In regard to Yahweh's ritual and moral demands there is likewise a striking contrast; but if there is any progression of thought between the two it is backward rather than forward. Ritualism is not even a problem to Deutero-Isaiah, which would in part be explained, perhaps, by absence of sacrifice in exile. The temple and its worship would if anything be more glorified under such circumstances. As to moral demands, the difference is chiefly a matter of emphasis; that is, the problems and therefore the purposes of the two prophets were quite different.

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF GOD BETWEEN THE TWO ISAIAHS

We might briefly summarize First Isaiah's concept of God by saying that in regard to titles, "Holy One of Israel", and "Yahweh of Hosts" were most characteristic of him, in addition to the more common Yahweh and Adonai, and that the first two mentioned represented a contribution to Hebrew theology. God is still more or less anthropomorphically conceived, though not crudely so, and there are a few indications of a heavenly abode. Aside from these He is more directly considered as having the center of all his activities in Palestine, and more especially Jerusalem. Coordinate with this is his relation to Israel, which still has many analogies with that of a king to his people, albeit the concept is broader; and the other nations are given little save indirect consideration. Yahweh is a God of wrath, but not so much against Israel's enemies as against Israel herself, because of her sins. For Yahweh is also a holy and glorious divinity, whose holiness has as an essential element His moral character, and he makes rigid moral demands upon his people, asking not formal sacrifice and other ritual, but justice and righteousness. God's power is not limited to Israel and her weaker enemies round-about, but extends over all the nations, who are sometimes instruments of his purpose. He is represented as possessing

knowledge, including that of the future, above that of men; but it is essentially a practical and shrewd, a political and social, foresight. Although there is a development toward monotheism, it seems most probable that Isaiah ben-Amoz was not a full-fledged monotheist. His chief contributions were his emphasis upon God's holiness and majesty as bound up with his moral qualities, and a trend toward the belief in one God. Of great moment also is the fact that he continued and developed the idea of his immediate predecessors concerning Yahweh's righteousness, his readiness to punish wickedness, and his repudiation of sacrifice.

Second Isaiah's originality overflowed into his use of titles for Yahweh, particularly in the case of "Creator" and "Maker", and also in his appropriation of "Redeemer", "Saviour", "Rock" and "Everlasting" God. He also ascribes human form and passions to God, to a certain extent, but in this shows refinement even over First Isaiah; and Yahweh's domain is fairly consistently the entire world. At the same time he retains essentially the same kind of relationship as of old between Yahweh and Israel- broadened and softened somewhat, and with some of the harshness relieved by a few glimpses of a more ideal relation to the other nations. Admission of the Servant Passages would of course enlarge this element greatly. There is little if any emphasis upon God's holiness, or upon his moral or other demands, save that of trust and confidence. The prophet's

crowning contribution is a strict monotheism, coupled with the ascription of supreme power, wisdom, and majesty to Yahweh. This goes so far as to imply quite definitely determinism and the creation of evil by Yahweh.

Between the two prophets there is a little upward progress in regard to the removal of anthropomorphic limitations upon the concept of God. Much more is this true of the developing concept of God's mercy and kindness, Deutero-Isaiah having a much closer relation to Hosea in this regard. The fundamental development lies of course in the view of Yahweh as one supreme and only God, the divine ruler over all peoples, directing history not as a powerful emperor or mighty general, but as the creator and controller of all things. Coupled with this is the expansion of the thought of God's power, wisdom and knowledge.

There are other respects in which there is little, if any, upward progression. Particularly is this true of Yahweh's relation to Israel¹, and therefore, in many respects, of his relation to Israel's enemies. In other concepts there appears to be, if anything, a retrogression. We have pointed this out in the matter of Yahweh's moral and ritual demands, especially as these are related to the idea of his holiness. The ascription of evil,² and implications of modern determinism, may be classed under the minor backward steps which so usually accompany any great stage of forward progress.

A further contribution, however, lies in a combination

of ideas to which we have already alluded. Mankind has gone little farther than Second Isaiah in combining the idea of God's majesty and transcendence, as we would say today, with the idea of God as a kind and merciful leader comforting his people, and the tendency toward what we would today call immanence.³ The usual tendency is to emphasize one almost to the exclusion of the other. With this as well as some other characteristics, a comparison with Jesus' conception of God is instructive and illuminating, for Second Isaiah comes closer to the ideas of Jesus in this regard than any other Old Testament prophet.

Any contact of Second Isaiah with the writings of Isaiah ben-Amoz is more strictly a literary problem. In terms of ideas alone, however, it is rather startling to notice how few points of contact there can be. The differences, except for an underlying current of Hebrew thought, are much greater, both those showing progress, and the smaller number indicating some sort of a decline. The reason for this lies not only in the change of environment which occurred in the meanwhile and the peculiar genius of Second Isaiah, but also, and largely, in the intervening development in Hebrew religion.

NOTES

Chapter I.

¹Including the combinations with other titles. Exact figures are impossible because of textual uncertainties. There are about two hundred and twenty-five appearances in chapters 1-39.

²Most frequently in Ezekiel, Isaiah, Psalms and Amos.

³The Hebrew, however, is not the same.

⁴The question is whether "Yahweh of Hosts" or the above expression is the one which was later added to the text and so disturbed the rhythm.

⁵"Gods"; common in the Old Testament from Deuteronomy and Jeremiah onward, and in late portions of Isaiah 1-39.

⁶Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon.

⁷The date of Dt. 32 is doubtful. Driver was inclined to date it during the period of Jeremiah (Deuteronomy). Cf. especially Dt. 30:31 with Is. 44:8.

⁸Gray, QBI, 302.

⁹Of divine existence, for example, in 57:15.

¹⁰Possibly "Everlasting God", and "Rock", though not probably the latter.

Chapter II.

¹Cf. Kautzsch, HDB V, 679. Knudson urged against Old Testament anthropomorphism, saying that "if God was looked upon as having body, it must have been a very different kind of body from our own." (RTOT, 96). H. P. Smith spoke of Yahweh's body as "ethereal, not material" (RI, 99); but of Is. 6 he said that in the Jerusalem Temple "Yahweh had his throne, where he was visible to the spiritual eye and in human form" (p. 149). Pace refers to the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic language as arising "in beliefs far less spiritual", and due to necessity of considering God as "personal" (IGI, 175). We may agree with this without altering our above conclusion.

²CBI, 153.

³Torrey (SI, 53) makes this a condemnation of sacrifice. Among the commentators perhaps Levy takes the passage most literally. Wade comments that "language embodying such (sensuous, material) conceptions is used without risk of misunderstanding" them in the older sense. (BPI, 282, note) But the statement seems too sweeping in the light of contemporary cult beliefs, for example, (See further Chapter III, Section 4, below on this passage.)

⁴Direct assertions follow, however.

⁵"She (Jerusalem) shall be visited of Yahweh of hosts with thunder, and with earthquake, and with great noise, with whirlwind and tempest, and the flame of a devouring fire."

⁶This is not the main point of emphasis in 1:2, for example, though it is implied. 1:18 has probably been misunderstood when taken to mean indiscriminating forgiveness.

⁷This, however, is doubtful. See below, p. 48.

⁸RTOT, 60.

⁹cf. Bade, OTLT, 183.

¹⁰The best picture of this is in Otto, Idea of the Holy.

¹¹See Cheyne, SBOT, 140, Note 5.

¹²See Gray, BI, pp. 151-4, and Cheyne, SBOT, p. 13 and p. 144, note 32, for this and other possible interpretations. Cheyne considers this to be a continuation of vv. 5-11, and translates "conspiracy" instead of the emendation "holy" in the first line (same as Am. Standard Version).

¹³RH, 303.

¹⁴BPI, p. 283, note.

¹⁵SI, pp. 235, 343, (note on 43:28).
for reference to

¹⁶Cf. Bade, OTLT, 183, anti-cultural implications, an attitude shared by Amos.

¹⁷Cf. esp. IBI, 298.

¹⁸The interpretations of these verses are varied. See, for example, H. P. Smith, RI, 150, 151, Kaplan, JB1, 45, 251f., etc. It is not a lofty conception of Yahweh's character.

¹⁹IGI, 175.

²⁰Cf. Caspari, JBL, 46-66ff., for a more detailed interpretation of 40:3-6 as indicating the power of Yahweh.

²¹Improbable for many reasons, in spite of Duhm's championing 11:1-8; 12:2-4; 32:1-5. Box is one of the few today who retains 11:1-8 and 9:2-6.

^{21a}BPI, xliv.

²²RTOT, 85ff. Albright (Archaeology 163ff.) believes that monotheism was introduced by Moses, arguing that "the closest approach to monotheism in the ancient Gentile world before the Persian period" was in Egypt during the Mosaic period. We must approach the problem, however, not only from the archaeological and cultural viewpoint, but by a detailed study of the Old Testament itself.

²³ROT, 128.

²⁴RPI, 36.

²⁵RIB, 94ff.

²⁶RI, 140.

²⁷IBI, 228.

²⁸Cf. Bode, OTLT, 273ff.

²⁹ROT, 130, Kittel (Op. Cit.) seems to make monotheism mean merely supremacy over other gods.

³⁰RTOT, 87.

³¹RH, 214.

³²IGI, 174

³³IKings 16:7-18.

³⁴The latter passage is doubtful.

³⁵The judgment of Yahweh generally was expected to be against all the enemies of his people; but this again was an older, and not necessarily a monotheistic, belief.

³⁶OTLT, 143ff. As he pointed out, ethical monotheism also, could hardly be ascribed to Amos.

³⁷Skinner (BPI xliv) argued from the references to idols 2:8, 20; 17:8; 31:7; but all save the first verse are quite generally rejected today.

³⁸CBI, lxxxvi.

³⁹This passage is questioned somewhat by Gray, CBI, p. 263, and more so by Stade, ZATW, iii, 16, and Marti (Cf. Gray, Op. Cit.), chiefly on the ground that the word for "mountains" is unique in first Isaiah. It was definitely retained by Cheyne, Duhm, Driver, and others (see Cheyne IBI, 79 and note 2), though more doubt has been cast upon it of late (see study by Fullerton). Regardless of the authenticity of these verses, the same idea seems to me to be definitely implied elsewhere as in 17:13, Yahweh "shall rebuke them, and they shall flee far off, and shall be chased...", evidently away from Palestine.

⁴⁰The importance of this point hardly needs to be stressed.

⁴¹Practically all critics would agree to this, although many hold Jeremiah's reference to "no-gods" to imply a complete monotheism. Knudson would make Dt. the first.

⁴²Knudson insists that Second Isaiah's enthusiasm was due not to "the novelty of the idea" but the novelty of the situation" (RTOT, 89) Rather was it due to both. The situation of Isaiah ben-Amoz was likewise very appropriate for an emphasis upon monotheism.

⁴³Oesterley and Robinson, HR the term is a fitting one; though "practical", from another standpoint, might well be used.

⁴⁴As H. P. Smith (RI, 251) and many others ^{thought} probable.

⁴⁵Second Isaiah, as we have found, was near ~~the~~ the modern conception of transcendence.

Chapter III

¹Rejected by some as an interpolation (as Cheyne, IBI); retained by Gray. The idea is characteristic of Isaiah, however.

²SBOT, 154, note 11.

³CBI, 109; other commentators of course hold quite similar views.

⁴Doubtful, being in a passage which marks the transition from the first Servant passage.

⁵ This interpretation is probably not quite correct but at least the general conclusion is fairly clear.

⁶ Isaiah 1:2ff., etc.

⁷ The "calling" apparently is meant to signify a selection for the purpose of bestowing honor.

⁸ II, 6; III, 2.

⁹ Perhaps "strike bargains" (Gray), "form alliances" (Skinner), or "practice sorcery" (McFadyen).

¹⁰ Marti in his commentary (note on 2:6) remarks that one would expect, rather, "come to agree about fortune-telling".

¹¹ Box is almost alone in considering it to have been borrowed by both prophets, though many older commentators accepted this. Duhm thought it original with Isaiah, Ryssel with Micah, and varying views have been held. But Gray, Cheyne, Marti, Stade (the first), Wade, and others have agreed that the fragment was written much later and incorporated by editors. See Cheyne, IBL, 9f., Gray, CBI, 42-44, and Wade, BPI, 14, note, Box, BI, 30, 31.

¹² The Jewish commentators Levy (Deutero-Isaiah) and Bittenweiser (JBL, 38, 101) so not agree. But compare for example Mitchell JBL, 38:113-128.

¹³ Which might then be a further argument against Bittenweiser's contention (Op. Cit.) that the songs are inseparably integral parts of the book.

¹⁴ Approval of at least some temple ritual is implied but this does not necessarily involve a general approval.

¹⁵ Many would not agree; at least it does not carry approval of sacrifice in any way.

¹⁶ Some have therefore have thought it to come from a later period.

¹⁷ "No opinion for or against the efficacy of sacrifice is here expressed" (BI).

¹⁸ "This hardly amounts to a repudiation of sacrifice in principal" (BPI, 2).

¹⁹ "The writer cannot be blaming the people...he is simply stating the fact." (BI, 2:10).

²⁰ BPI, 2:81-82.

²¹"Israel could exert itself to call upon other gods, but not upon Yahweh". Compare Cheyne PI, 2:80 note.

²²SI, 3:41.

Chapter IV.

¹Unless we include the Servant Passages.

²Natural evil had been ascribed to Yahweh and in earlier times moral evil; but not in so bold and general a manner.

³Both of these terms imply more than the Hebrew mind ascribed to God's nature.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL, American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.

AJT, American Journal of Theology.

HDB, Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.

HTR, Harvard Theological Review.

JBL, Journal of Biblical Literature.

JR, Journal of Religion.

JTS, Journal of Theological Studies.

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